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ABSTRACT

This paper describes predicate adjective usage in modern standard Russian using a corpus of written Russian derived from "Pravda" (neutral literary style) and "Krokodil" (conversational material). The short, long nominative, and instrumental forms are examined in relation to the type of adjective, copulative verb, sentence subject, and other lexicological-semantic factors. Samples cited are similar in structure tc Bloomfield's "equational sentences", consisting essentially of a subject noun or pronoun, copulative verb, and a predicate adjective. The body of the text is comprised of: (1) the basic sentences with zero as copula, (2) special lexicological-semantic factors, (3) syntactic factors, and (4) the effect of the copulative verb. (RL)

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Predicate Adjective Usage in Standard Russian

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe predicate adjective usage in modern Standard Russian. The main corpus consisted of a considerable amount of written Russian as examined in the newspaper *Pravda* and the periodical *Krokodil*. The former uses mostly a neutral literary style; the latter contains much conversational material. Most of the examples given in this paper were drawn from these two sources.[1] To save space, many of the sentences have been shortened. Other examples cited in this study were checked by five highly literate native informants. In addition, these informants were utilized in an attempt to establish the existence of variants and any semantic differentiation between such variants.

Russian predicate adjectives may appear in one of three forms: short, long nominative, and instrumental (designated here as *S*, *L*, and *I*, respectively). In a description of their usage, it is necessary to take into account not only the type of adjective, the copulative verb, and the subject of the sentence in which it appears, but also the effect of certain other syntactical factors, of lexicological-semantic factors, and of style considerations.

Russian predicate adjectives occur in what Bloomfield calls 'equational sentences'.[2] This sentence-type consists essentially of a subject noun or pronoun, copulative verb, and a predicate adjective (or noun or pronoun; predicate nouns and pronouns do not concern us here). All the examples

[1] Previous treatments of this question have been based primarily on examples taken from Russian belles-lettres: J. Fontenoy, "De l'adjectif attribut au nominatif avec la copule *bytj*," *Mélanges pour Paul Boyer* (Paris, 1925), 362–374; A. Mazon, "L'Attribut en russe moderne littéraire," *Zbornik* for A. Belić (Belgrade, 1937), 370–391; V. Vinogradov, *Russkij jazyk* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1947), 262–270 and 402–405; M. Benson, "The Development of Predicate Adjective Usage in Russian Literary Prose from Pushkin On" (Ann Arbor, 1954), Microfilm Publication No. 8535; U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, *Grammatika russkogo jazyka*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1953–1954), II, 445–468.

[2] *Language* (New York, 1933), 172f.

FL 001 491

cited below belong to this sentence-type. We shall begin the description of usage with basic sentences, containing the present tense of *byt'* (=zero) 'to be' as copula.[3] In the following sections, other factors will be considered.

1. Basic Sentences With Zero as Copula

1.1. The corpus revealed that many adjectives are either *L* or *S*. These adjectives will be called Class I in this study. Examples: *on slabyj* or *slab* 'he is weak'; *kniga interesnaja* or *interesna* 'the book is interesting'; *pol čistyj* or *čist* 'the floor is clean'; *plat'e krasivoe* or *krasivo* 'the dress is pretty'; *urok očen' trudnyj* or *truden* 'the lesson is very difficult'; *povestka dnja obširnaja* or *obširna* 'the agenda is vast'; *itogi polëta otličnye* or *otlični* 'the results of the flight are excellent'; *ètot priëm novyj* or *nov* 'this method is new'; *dvorec grandioznyj* or *grandiozen* 'the palace is enormous'; *Ivan umnyj* or *umën* 'Ivan is intelligent'; *takoe povedenie nepriličnoe* or *neprilično* 'such behavior is not decent'; *otvet jasnyj* or *jasen* 'the reply is clear'; *uščerb neznačitel'nyj* or *neznačitelen* 'the damage is slight'. The informants were unable to establish any clear semantic difference between *L* and *S* in such sentences. The forms just cited can be considered synonymous. Thus, the assertion often made in normative works on Russian grammar that *L* denotes a permanent quality and *S* a temporary quality[4] was found often not to be valid. However, in certain instances such a distinction does exist. In addition, *L* forms are sometimes felt to be partly substantivized.[5] Examples: *on bol'noj* 'he is sick' (always) or 'he is a sick man' but *on bolen* 'he is sick' (now); *ona vesëlaja* 'she is a gay person' but *ona vesela* 'she is gay' (now). The time modifier may, of course, be expressed: *segodnja ja svoboden* 'today I am free'; *teper' ix radost' bespredel'na* 'now their joy is supreme'. To be sure, examples of *L* usage when a temporary quality is clearly expressed or understood do occur: *rubaška eščë mokraja* 'the shirt is still wet'; *dela teper' tjažëlye* 'the situation is difficult now'; *pol čistyj* 'the floor is clean' (now). In the proper context, the latter sentence could have the meaning 'the floor is a clean one' (i.e., always clean).

1.1.1. Both the corpus and previous investigators agree that for Class I adjectives, *L* is used more frequently in conversation.[6] Conversely, *S* can

[3] The zero copula may be marked in speech by a non-distinctive pause before *L*. See Vinogradov, 265, and Bloomfield, 185.

[4] For example, A. N. Gvozdev, *Očerki po stilistike russkogo jazyka* (Moscow, 1952), 101.

[5] See Vinogradov, 268.

[6] For example, see Fontenoy, 368–370.

be characteristic of a literary style.[7] In view of the fact that *L* (and *I*) usage has greatly increased in the last hundred years, it is not surprising that *S* can sometimes appear bookish and obsolescent, recalling the syntax of Pushkin-era literature.[8] (See sections 3.5.1.1, 4.4.5, and 4.5.1.1.) Interesting confirmation of the literary character of *S* for Class I has been recently provided by a report of a Soviet school teacher. He points out that young Russian children use *S* forms rarely until they have mastered the literary language in school.[9]

1.1.2. Certain adjectives are always *L* in some semantic situations and *S* in others:[10] *naše delo pravoe* 'our cause is just' (but *on prav* 'he is right'); *ceny tvërdye* 'prices are fixed' (but *on tvërd v matematike* 'he is good in math'); *ètot zvuk gluxoj* 'this sound is unvoiced' (but *on glux k vsem pros'bam* 'he turns a deaf ear to all requests'); *rebënok živoj* 'the child is lively' (but *on živ* 'he is alive'); *korzinka polna* 'the basket is full' (but *ona polnaja* 'she is stout'); *on plox* 'he's in poor health' (but *ètot restoran ploxoj* (or *plox*) 'this restaurant is bad'); *ona xoroša* 'she is pretty' (but *ona xorošaja* 'she is a good person').

On participles, see also section 1.3.1.

1.2. Certain adjectives are always *L*. These will be called Class II. Many have no corresponding *S* at all: *dom bol'šoj* 'the house is large'; *traktory amerikanskie* 'the tractors are American'; *predprijatie gosudarstvennoe* 'the enterprise is state-owned'; *ix texnika peredovaja* 'their technology is advanced'; *štraf grošovyj* 'the fine is trifling'; *pol zemljanoj* 'it's a dirt floor'; *vxod platnyj* 'there is an admission fee'; *oni kak čužie* 'they are like strangers'. Superlative forms in *-šij* are included here: *ta reka dlinnejšaja* 'that river is the longest'.

1.3. Certain adjectives are always *S*. These will be called Class III.[11] Several lack *L* completely: *rad* 'glad', *gorazd* 'capable' and simple

[7] For further discussion see A. M. Peškovskij, *Russkij sintaksis v naučnom osveščenii*, 7th ed. (Moscow, 1956), 225f, and Vinogradov, 264f.

[8] The increase of *L* and *I* usage has been discussed by several investigators. See, for example, Academy, *Grammatika*, II, 445 and A. A. Šaxmatov, *Sintaksis russkogo jazyka*, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1925), I, 178. Šaxmatov also points here to the disappearance of semantic differentiation between *L* and *S* in popular speech. For the obsolescent character of *S* in certain constructions, see Academy, *Grammatika*, II, 453–455.

[9] G. F. Mjasnikov, "Stilističeskoe ispol'zovanie kratkix i polnyx prilagatel'nyx v sostave skazuemogo," *Russkij jazyk v škole*, 1958, no. 1, 14.

[10] See also N. Švedova, "Polnye i kratkie formy imën prilagatel'nyx v sostave skazuemogo v sovremennom russkom literaturnon jazyke," *Učënye zapiski*, Moscow University, CL (Moscow, 1952), 74ff., and Vinogradov, 262f.

[11] In substandard Russian, Class III may be *L*. See, for example, Academy, *Grammatika*, II, 459.

comparatives such as *novee* 'newer'. Most, however, do possess a corresponding *L*, which is used attributively. Examples of predicate usage: *očerk gotov* 'the outline is ready'; *den'gi ne nužny* 'money is not needed'; *oni dovol'ny* 'they are content'; *Griša ne soglasen* 'Grisha does not agree'; *muzyka slyšna* 'music can be heard'; *gorod viden* 'the city is visible'; *my dolžny* 'we must'; *oni poxoži drug na druga* 'they look alike'; *kto vinoven?* 'who is guilty?'

1.3.1. Past passive participles are normally Class III: *magaziny zakryty* 'the stores are closed'; *zamók isporčen* 'the lock is broken'; *soldat ranen* 'the soldier has been wounded'; *zdanie postroeno* 'the building has been built'. However, a few words of participial origin have become Class I adjectives: *professora rassejannye* (or *rassejanny*) 'the professors are absent-minded' and *vražeskie polki rassejany* 'the enemy regiments have been scattered'; *èti ljudi ograničennye* (or *ograničenny*) 'these people are narrow-minded' and *naši sredstva ograničeny* 'our resources are limited'.[12]

1.3.2. Certain adjectives which are Class III in the predicate function have a different meaning when used attributively: *vidnyj inžener* 'a prominent engineer' (vs. *viden* 'visible'); *dolžnym obrazom* 'in a suitable manner', *dolžnyj vklad* 'a proper contribution' (vs. *dolžen* 'obliged'); *gotovoe plat'e* 'ready-made clothing' (vs. *gotov* 'ready').

1.4. The intensifiers *kakoj* 'what a', 'so', *takoj* 'such a' and *samyj* 'the most' may stand before *L*; *kak* 'how' and *tak* 'so' may precede *S*: *kakoj on vysokij!* 'he is so tall!'; *on takoj lenivyj* 'he is such a lazy one'; *on takoj bol'šoj* 'he is such a big fellow'; *ètot pavil'on samyj interesnyj* 'this pavilion is the most interesting (one)'; *kak ona krasiva!* 'how pretty she is!'; *on ne znal, čto artisty tak populjarny* 'he didn't know that actors were so popular'; *my tak dovol'ny* 'we're so satisfied'.

2. Special Lexicological-Semantic Factors

2.1. The *S* form of adjectives denoting measurements or age can have the additional meaning of 'too':[13] *botinki veliki* 'the shoes are too large'; *brjuki široki* 'the trousers are too wide'; *on eščë molod* 'he is still too young' (cf. *on molodoj* 'he is young'); *ulica uzka* 'the street is too narrow' (cf. *ulica uzkaja* 'the street is narrow'); *rukava korotki* 'the sleeves are too short'; *komnata mala* 'the room is too small'. However, in certain contexts the

[12] See also *ibid.*, I, 305–307, and Vinogradov, 278–284.

[13] When *sliškom* 'too' is expressed, *S* or *L* can follow: *ètot stol sliškom nizok* or *nizkij* 'this table is too low'.

implication of 'too' is absent: *nasledie Čajkovskogo veliko* 'Tchaikovsky's heritage is great'; *ėta skam'ja dostatočno široka* 'this bench is wide enough'; *ix moral'nye kačestva vysoki* 'their moral qualities are high'. Perhaps a larger corpus would make possible a hypothesis as to the kinds of context which imply and do not imply 'too'.

2.2. Certain adjectives which are often used attributively with specific nouns in fixed expressions usually remain *L* when shifted to the predicate function: *položenie beznadëžnoe* 'the situation is hopeless'; *porjadok slov svobodnyj* 'word-order is free'; *vremja trudnoe* 'times are difficult'; *delo sročnoe* 'the matter is urgent'; *bor'ba upornaja* 'the struggle is bitter'; *pogoda tëplaja* 'the weather is warm'; *noč' tëmnaja* 'the night is dark'; *zima xolodnaja* 'winter is cold'. These are not Class II adjectives since *S* is possible: *noč' temna, bor'ba uporna, pogoda tepla*, etc.

2.3. Certain Class I (and Class III) adjectives are always *S* in fixed idiomatic expressions and proverbs. In these expressions the word-order may be fixed; at any rate it plays no special role. Complements may be present: *gorek čužoj xleb* 'a stranger's bread is bitter'; *gol' na vydumki xitra* 'necessity is the mother of invention'; *neroven čas* 'anything might happen'; *ruki korotki* 'he cannot do anything'; *u straxa glaza veliki* 'through the eye of fear danger looks greater'; *dolg platežom krasen* 'one good turn deserves another'; *on zadnim umom krepok* 'he likes to second-guess'; *on tjažël na pod"ëm* 'he is sluggish'; *ne velika beda* or *beda ne velika* 'there's no harm'; *on vernulsja cel i nevredim* 'he returned safe and sound'; *u menja xlopot polon rot* 'I have a million things to do'; *opjat' streločnik vinovat* 'the little guy always gets it in the neck'; *ljubov' zla—poljubiš' i kozla* 'love is blind'; *legok na pomine!* 'speak of the devil!'; *ne tak strašen čort, kak ego maljujut* 'things aren't as bad as they are painted'; *čem bogaty, tem i rady* 'we'll be happy with what we have'; *on ni živ ni mërtv* 'he is scared to death'.

3. Syntactic Factors

3.1. When a Class I adjective is placed before the subject to achieve stress, a stylistic effect, or both, *S* generally prevails: *slab čelovek!* 'man is weak!'; *xoroša pora urožaja!* 'harvest time is beautiful!'; *tjažela soldatskaja dolja!* 'a soldier's lot is hard!'; *krasivy tam devuški* 'the girls are pretty there'; *krasnorečiva zapis' gospodina Ivanova* 'Mr. Ivanov's record is eloquent'; *ljubopytna istorija vozniknovenija sada* 'the story of how the garden came into being is curious'; *xoroši večera osen'ju* 'the autumn evenings are beautiful'. Occasionally, however, *L* is anteposed: *strannyj ty!* 'you are strange!'; *umnyj ètot čelovek* 'this fellow is clever'.

3.2. When a complement is present, the situation varies with the Class.

3.2.1. *S* prevails for Class I and is always used for Class III: *èti otkrytija važny dlja vsex* 'these discoveries are important for everyone'; *on mstitelen po nature* 'he is vengeful by nature'; *mašina èkonomična v rasxodovanii gorjučego* 'the engine is economical in fuel consumption'; *vaša strana bogata neft'ju* 'your country is rich in oil'; *moi kollegi ravnodušny k ètoj istorii* 'my colleagues are indifferent to this story'; *kompanii svobodny ot vsjakogo kontrolja* 'the companies are free of any control'; *sputnik raven zvezde pjatoj veličiny* 'the satellite is equal to a star of the fifth magnitude'; *naša strana čužda bol'šinstvu sovetskix graždan* 'our country is alien to the majority of Soviet citizens'; *my dovol'ny komnatoj* 'we are satisfied with the room'; *on poxož na tebja* 'he looks like you'; *studenty gotovy k èkzaminam* 'the students are ready for the exams'.

3.2.1.1. *L* for Class I is encountered infrequently: *on ko vsem dobryj* 'he is kind to everyone'; *rajon dlja turistov neinteresnyj* 'the region does not interest tourists'.

3.2.2. Class II is *L*: *ruki koričnevye ot zagara* 'his hands are brown from the sun'; *èta komnata podxodjaščaja dlja menja* 'this room is suitable for me'.

3.3. When the adjective is the auxiliary of an infinitive, Classes I and III are encountered as such auxiliaries. They are always *S*: *Saša sposoben rabotat'* 'Sasha is capable of working' (cf. *on sposobnyj* (or *sposoben*) 'he is capable'); *ne budet li on ljubezen èto objasnit'?* 'will he be so kind as to explain this?'; *ja sčastliv ob ètom uznat'* 'I am happy to learn of this'; *deti dolžny otdyxat'* 'children must rest'; *S.S.S.R. ne nameren ispol'zovat' ètot zakon* 'the U.S.S.R. does not intend to use this law'; *Gorja gorazd torgovat'sja* 'Gorja is good at bargaining'; *gosti gotovy uexat'* 'the guests are ready to leave'; *Petrov prizvan sledit' za sobljudeniem dogovora* 'it's Petrov's mission to see that the treaty is carried out'.

3.4. When the subject is a neuter pronoun, *S* prevails for Class I and is always used for Class III: *èto važno* 'this is important'; *vsë jasno* 'everything is clear'; *èto interesno* 'this is interesting'; *vsë gotovo* 'everything is ready'; *edno nužno* 'one thing is necessary'; *interesno to, čto on ne prišël* 'it's interesting that he didn't come'. Class II occurs rarely with neuter pronouns. It is regularly *L*: *vsë koričnevoe* 'everything is brown'.

3.5. Constructions of the type *u menja* occurred in the corpus mostly with Classes I and II.

3.5.1. *L* predominates for Class I: *poxodka u nego pravil'naja* 'his gait is correct'; *stixi u neë ploxie* 'her poetry is bad'; *nastroenie u vsex bodroe,*

pripodnjatoe 'everyone is in a cheerful, excited mood'; *sovest' u Il'ina nesposobnaja k dlitel'nomu soprotivleniju* 'Ilyin's conscience is not capable of prolonged resistance'; *den' u menja svobodnyj* 'I am free today'; *narod u nas xorošij* 'our people are good'; *pišča u nix vsegda gorjačaja* 'they always have hot food'.

3.5.1.1. *S* usage for Class I is infrequent and may appear bookish: *lico u nego blednо* 'his face is pale'; *jabloki u vas xoroši* 'your apples are good'; *glaza u neë svezi* 'her eyes are clear'.

3.5.2. Class II is *L*: *dom u vas bol'šoj* 'you have a large house'; *pal'to u nego koričnevoe* 'he has a brown coat'; *jazyk u nix russkij* 'their language is Russian'; *akcent u nego nastojaščij* 'his accent is real'.

3.5.3. Class III is usually *S*: *ruki u nego vymyty* 'his hands are washed'; *vopros u nix razrabotan* 'they have the question worked out'.

4. Effect of the Copulative Verb

4.1. After *byl–budet* 'was'–'will be', i.e., the past or future of *byt'*, usage varies with the Class.

4.1.1. For Classes I and II, *I* predominates: *ego doklad byl obstojatel'nym* 'his report was detailed'; *vyzdorovlenie ne budet lëgkim* 'the recovery will not be easy'; *programma byla neobyčnoj* 'the program was unusual'; *peregovory budut besplodnymi* 'negotiations will be fruitless'; *nastroenie u nas bylo tem bolee pripodnjatym, čto on tam* 'our mood was all the more enthusiastic since he was there'; *vsë budet poleznym* 'everything will be useful'; *to, čto proizošlo, bylo neožidannym dlja menja* 'I had not expected this to happen'; *ètot sotrudnik byl takim že nenadëžnym, kak i vse predyduščie* 'this worker was as unreliable as all his predecessors'; *trudnymi byli uslovija* 'conditions were difficult'; *pogoda byla tëploj* 'the weather was warm'; *ego vystuplenie bylo lučšim* 'his performance was the best'.

4.1.1.1. *L* and *S* occur less frequently: *on byl očen' umnyj* 'he was very clever'; *pogoda byla xolodnaja* 'the weather was cold'; *upakovka byla ploxaja* 'the packing was bad'; *dom byl bol'šoj* 'the house was large'; *starik byl očen' privetliv* 'the old man was very friendly'; *zadača budet interesna* 'the problem will be interesting'.

4.1.1.2. In certain instances there may be a semantic difference between *I* or *S* and *L*.[14] *I* or *S* can sometimes suggest a temporary quality, whereas *L* can point to a permanent quality or can attribute a quality to the subject

[14] Cf. Academy, *Grammatika*, II, 462 and 466.

with no implication at all as to permanency or non-permanency. Examples: *vo vtoroj časti koncerta skripač byl menee ubeditel'nym* 'during the second part of the concert the violinist was less convincing'. The time modifier in this sentence underscores the temporary nature of the quality described by the adjective. The following example is similar: *v tečenie goda rabota byla trudnoj* 'the work was difficult during the year'. On the other hand, in the next example no implication as to permanency is made: *stixi byli ploxie* 'the poetry was bad'. *I* in this sentence could imply 'at that time', 'in that spot', etc. *L* in *dom budet bol'šoj* implies 'the house (which they will find) will be big', whereas *I* (*dom budet bol'šim*) suggests 'the house (which they will build)...'. Likewise, the sentence *on byl p'janym* (or *p'jan*) could suggest 'he was drunk then', whereas *on byl p'janyj* suggests 'he was a drunk'.

However, in modern Russian this distinction is often not observed. The great increase in *I* usage with *byl–budet* in the last hundred years[15] has tended to obscure any semantic differentiation. Thus, in contemporary Russian it is quite possible to say *steny byli tonkimi* 'the walls were thin' with *I*, even though a permanent quality is manifest. In several of the examples cited in 4.1.1 there is no connotation of a temporary quality.

4.1.2. Class III remains *S*: *my budem dovol'ny* 'we will be satisfied'; *sputnik byl viden* 'the satellite was visible'; *on byl vinovat* 'he was guilty'; *vzryv budet slyšen* 'the explosion will be heard'; *on dolžen byl uexat'* 'he had to leave'; *nužny byli den'gi* 'money was needed'; *avtobus budet gotov* 'the bus will be ready'; *otec byl prav* 'father was right'; *mir byl by obespečen* 'peace would be assured'; *spasatel'nye raboty byli zaveršeny* 'rescue work was completed'.

4.2. After the infinitive *byt'*, usage also varies with the Class.

4.2.1. When no finite verb or *S* adjective (see 3.3) serves as the auxiliary of *byt'*, *I* is used for all classes: *u nas est' osnovanija byt' nedoverčivymi* 'we have reasons to be incredulous'; *čelovek s talantom možet sebe pozvolit' byt' skromnym* 'a man with talent can afford to be modest'; *seržant poprosil razrešenija byt' svobodnym* 'the sergeant asked for permission to be dismissed'; *nužno byt' bol'šim, čtoby èto sdelat'* 'you have to be tall in order to do that'; *on stojal ostorožno, čtoby byt' gotovym k otstupleniju* 'he stood cautiously so as to be ready for a withdrawal'; *on prigibalsja, čtoby ne byt' zamečennym vragom* 'he stooped down so as not to be spotted by the

[15] In all of Pushkin's prose, *I* was used with *byl–budet* only four times. See Benson, 163.

enemy'; *zalog našej nezavisimosti podvergaetsja opasnosti byt' prodannym* 'the guarantee of our independence is in danger of being sold out'.

4.2.2. When a finite verb or *S* adjective (see 3.3) serves as the auxiliary of *byt'*, usage seems to be as follows:

4.2.2.1. For Classes I and II, *I* prevails: *ja xoču byt' otkrovennym s toboj* 'I want to be frank with you'; *Ol'ga ne mogla byt' veselој* 'Olga couldn't be gay'; *vrač staraetsja byt' vežlivym* 'the doctor is trying to be polite'; *koncert obeščaet byt' zanimatel'nym* 'the concert promises to be entertaining'; *èti gruppy mogut byt' poleznymi dlia dela mira* 'these groups can be useful for the cause of peace'; *naši divizii dolžny byt' peredovymi* 'our divisions must be first-rate'.

4.2.2.2. Although *I* does dominate for Class I, the corpus reveals that *S* can also be encountered: *my dolžny byt' ostorožny* 'we must be careful'; *on xočet byt' ljubezen* 'he wants to be nice'; *kniga možet byt' polezna dlja tex, kto izučaet ispanskij jazyk* 'the book can be useful for those who are studying Spanish'. The use of *L* is rare: *ona staraetsja byt' vesëlaja* 'she is trying to be gay'.

4.2.2.3. For Class III the corpus showed a prevalence of *S*: *otsjuda gorod ne mog byt' viden* 'from here the city could not be seen'; *naši sojuzniki dolžny byt' gotovy* 'our allies must be ready'; *malye strany mogut byt' polnost'ju uničtoženy* 'small countries can be wiped out completely'; *mir možet byt' brošen v vojnu* 'the world can be thrown into war'. *I* is sometimes encountered: *on dolžen byt' gotovym* 'he must be ready'.

4.2.2.4. *L* may occasionally occur for Classes I and II: *mesto dolžno byt' spokojnoe* 'it has to be a quiet spot'; *zvuk možet byt' gluxoj* 'the sound may be unvoiced'.

4.3. After the imperative *bud'(te)* 'be!', Classes I and III were encountered. They were always *S*: *bud'te ljubezny, ostorožny, gotovy* 'be nice, careful, ready'. In the following example the adjective after *bud'te* serves as the auxiliary of an infinitive: *bud'te dobry zapolnit' anketu* 'be so kind as to fill out the questionnaire'.

4.4. A separate statement may be made for cases when the copulative verb is one that usually serves as an independent predicate in an actor–action construction. (In most instances, the verb denotes motion or position—*xodit'* 'go', *sidet'* 'sit', *idti* 'go', *prixodit'* 'come', *priezžat'* 'come', *vozvraščat'sja* 'return', etc.).

4.4.1. When predicate adjectives appeared with these verbs they were chiefly Class I or III. *L* and *I* are apparently free variants for any Class

when the verb is finite. No semantic differentiation could be established. Examples of *L*: *Kolja prišël trezvyj* 'Kolja came sober'; *ja šël p'janyj* 'I walked along drunk'; *Volodja vstal blednyj i mračnyj* 'Volodja got up pale and sullen'; *Ivan vyšel iz kabineta ozabočennyj, ustalyj* 'Ivan left the office worried and tired'; *predloženie vernulos' odobrennoe i rekomendovannoe k vnedreniju* 'the proposal came back approved with a recommendation to put it into effect'; *on sošël gotovyj k boju* 'he came down ready for a fight'; *on lëg spat' dovol'nyj soboj* 'he went to bed satisfied with himself'; *ženščina sidela okružënnaja det'mi* 'the woman sat surrounded by children'. Examples of *I*: *Paša vernulsja k sebe zadumčivym* 'Pasha returned home wrapped in thought'; *boec upal mërtvym* 'the soldier fell dead'; *pis'mo vyšlo suxim* 'the letter came out uninspiring'; *ja vozvraščajus' bodrym* 'I am returning in good spirits'; *on prišël pervym* 'he came first'; *naše pravitel'stvo vyšlo iz vojny eščë bolee okrepšim* 'our government emerged from the war stronger than ever'; *on sgorel živym* 'he was burnt alive'; *on vošël gotovym k puti* 'he came in ready to leave'; *ego prebyvanie v gorode prošlo nezamečennym* 'his stay in town passed unnoticed'; *Boris uxodit domoj razbitym* 'Boris is leaving for home crushed'.

4.4.2. After infinitives *I* prevails: *nel'zja xodit' mokrym* 'you can't walk around wet'; *on uspel vyjti suxim iz vody* 'he managed to get off unpunished'; *on ne xotel vernut'sja utomlënnym* 'he did not want to return all tired out'; *spektakl' obeščal vyjti zanimatel'nym* 'the show promised to be entertaining'.

4.4.3. A past passive participle may serve as the copulative verbal form: *most byl brošen nevzorvannym* 'the bridge was abandoned before it was blown up'; *čelovek pokazan prinižennym, bespomoščnym* 'man is shown humiliated, helpless'.

4.4.4. If a conjunction such as *kak* 'as', 'like', *točno* 'as' stands before the predicate adjective, *L* is used: *lošad' stojala kak vkopannaja* 'the horse stood as if glued to the spot'; *oni xodjat kak p'janye* 'they walk around as if drunk'; *ona stojala točno udivlënnaja* 'she stood as if surprised'.

4.4.5. The use of *S* with verbs of independent predication in contemporary Russian is rare and may have a bookish, obsolescent coloring: *on sidel bleden* 'he sat pale'; *djadja vošël surov* 'uncle came in looking stern'.

4.5. We come now to verbs such as *stanovit'sja* 'become', *kazat'sja* 'appear', *okazyvat'sja* 'turn out', *ostavat'sja* 'remain', *delat'sja* 'become', *byvat'* 'be habitually', etc.

4.5.1. *I* prevails for Classes I and II: *organizacii stali aktivnymi* 'the organizations became active'; *èto kažetsja verojatnym* 'this seems probable'; *oni okazalis' bessil'nymi* 'they turned out to be powerless'; *oni ostajutsja vernymi principam respubliki* 'they remain true to the principles of the republic'; *on delaetsja skupym* 'he's becoming stingy'; *uslovija redko byvajut blagoprijatnymi* 'conditions are rarely favorable'; *xozjajstvo stalo bol'šim* 'the farm became large'.

4.5.1.1. *S* is not frequent for Class I, but it does occur. Sometimes it is suggestive of a literary style: *rabotniki ostalis' ravnodušny k ètoj istorii* 'the workers remained indifferent to this story'; *slëzy kažutsja iskrenni* 'the tears appear genuine'; *on sdelalsja razgovorčiv* 'he became talkative'; *èto pokažetsja stranno* 'it will seem strange'. *L* occurs rarely: *ona stala strogaja* 'she became strict'.

4.5.2. For Class III, *S* prevails: *on okazalsja prav* 'he turned out to be right'; *stali vidny rezul'taty* 'results became visible'; *passažiry ostalis' dovol'ny poezdkoj* 'the passengers were satisfied with the trip'; *on stal poxož na mal'čika* 'he became like a boy'. *I* also occurs, especially for past passive participles: *gorod kažetsja poxožim na Tbilisi* 'the city looks like Tiflis'; *partija ostalas' nezakončennoj* 'the game remained unfinished'; *dver' okazalas' otkrytoj* 'the door happened to be open'.

4.5.3. With infinitive forms of the verbs in question, *I* predominates for all Classes: *on sumel sdelat'sja populjarnym* 'he managed to make himself popular'; *on xočet kazat'sja bol'šim* 'he wants to appear tall'; *nel'zja okazat'sja otrezannym* 'you mustn't be cut off'. The use of *S* is rare and did not occur in the corpus. In the following example cited by Šaxmatov,[16] the use of *S* falls under section 3.1: *kak durna dolžna ja kazat'sja!* 'how wicked I must seem!'.

4.5.4. The corpus indicated that certain verbs of the general type under discussion are ALWAYS used with *I* regardless of Class. Such verbs are *vygljadet'* 'look', 'appear', *čuvstvovat' sebja* 'feel', *pritvorjat'sja* 'pretend to be', *slyt'* 'be known as', etc. Examples: *deti vygljadjat zdorovymi* 'the children look healthy'; *on čuvstvuet sebja ustalym* 'he feels tired'; *on pritvorjaetsja ranenym* 'he pretends to be wounded'; *ona slyvët umnoj* 'they say she's clever'.

5. COMMENT

This study has demonstrated the complexity of predicate adjective usage in modern Standard Russian. This complexity is aggravated by diachronic

[16] *Op. cit.*, 352.

considerations—the increase of *L* and *I* usage. The existence of such an involved grammatical structure and free variants led to confusion at times among the native informants. The following statement by André Mazon is a fitting conclusion to this paper: "Il semble parfois que la langue diispose d'un système de moyens d'expressions trop abondant et qui dépasse la subtilité de l'homme moyen"[17] (*op. cit.*, p. 391).

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